1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

585 blood. This rite was called "dying red," and, as I was told, it has been preserved among the Reindeer Koryak on the Palpal until now.

591 Although, as a rule, the bride goes to the house of her husband's parents,
595 there are also cases where the son-in-law settles in his father-in-law's house; namely, when there are no sons in the bride's family. In such a case the future father-in-law says to the young man, "If you care to come to stay with me altogether in the place of a son, come; but if you intend to take the wife away with you afterwards, you need not come."

In order to determine the relative number of cases where the bridegroom goes over to his father-in-law's house, I registered 181 marriages; and among these, in 11 cases only (6%) did the son-in-law settle in his father-in-law's house.

After the bride has lived for some time in her father-in-law's house, she and her husband go to visit her parents, where they are also met with firebrands from the hearth; and the bridegroom, on his part, brings presents, so that the two families exchange gifts. A similar exchange of presents and visiting of the bridegroom's parents by the young couple, take place when the young man settles in the bride's house.

562 Position of Women in the Family. — The family organization of the
593 Koryak is of patriarchal character. The father is the head of the family, though his power over wife and children is not absolute. The mutual relations of the other members of the family rest on the principle of seniority. If the father grows feeble or dies, his brother or eldest son, or, in the absence of these, his adopted son-in-law who is married to the eldest daughter, becomes the head of the family. The principle of seniority influences also the interrelations of the female members of the family. The authority over household affairs belongs to the mother, to the eldest sister if married to the adopted son-in-law, or, if any brothers, to the wife of the eldest brother.

581 Though nominally the father can marry off his daughter on his own authority, he nevertheless not only consults his wife and eldest son, but often takes into consideration even the likes or dislikes of his daughter. Cases occur where the daughter does not submit to the father's or elder relative's authority in the choice of a bridegroom. Their will is not forced upon her. This attitude is also mirrored in the myths. Thus, Root-Man wanted to give his daughter in marriage to Eme'mqut; but she would not yield, and the bridegroom had to give up service.[1] Young men often go to serve for a bride, in spite of the non-approval of the "elder" or "elders" of their own families. Should a girl run away to her lover's house against the will of her kindred, her parents would not demand her return, as she went of her own accord. When asked what their guiding principle is, in their choice of a bride or a bridegroom, the Koryak answer that they pay no attention to looks; what is

[1] See Part I, pp. 135, 218.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

expected of the bridegroom is that he should be a good hunter or herdsman, and the bride must be a good housekeeper and skilled in handiwork. Nevertheless, sexual attraction based on æsthetic sense, or physical attraction, undoubtedly plays an important rôle in the mutual inclination between young men and girls. This shows itself in the relation between husband and wife. 581

As in the relations of the members of the family the principle of seniority plays its part, so in the relation between the male and female members of a family the principle of the supremacy of men's authority undoubtedly dominates. Thus, at the bidding of the family's elder (father, uncle, or eldest brother), the Reindeer camp is removed to another locality, or, among the Maritime Koryak, the place of hunting or fishing is changed. The men get the best pieces of food, the women receive what is left over. Thus, among the Reindeer Koryak, only the men sit around the food which is served in the inner tent; and, besides the children, only the mother or the eldest wife is present, who distributes the food or treats the guests. The other women and girls receive the leavings, which they eat in the outer tent. Among the Maritime Koryak, too, the women and girls eat separately by the hearth, after the men have eaten. Nevertheless the attitude of men towards women is protective rather than severe. Cases of wife-beating are very rare. On the other hand, it happens that the wife not only returns in kind to her husband, but often appears to be the aggressive party. In general, complete accord reigns in families. I even had occasion to witness touching displays of devotion between husband and wife. Thus, I saw a smith from Kuel, somewhat tipsy with whiskey, leaning his head on the shoulder of his wife, who supported him by the waist. When my attention was attracted to this scene, the smith said to me with a smile, "This is my kind wife." I was still more impressed with the treatment which the Koryak Qomya' from Kamenskoye accorded to his blind wife. When making a trip anywhere, he takes her along, and even takes care of her most tenderly; he takes her down into the underground house, takes her out, hands her the food, and sits by her side all the time. Such relations are possible only in cases of deep attachment. 562 593

In former times, men not infrequently killed themselves upon the death of a beloved wife. On the Taigonos Peninsula I saw a Reindeer Koryak who had attempted suicide after the death of his wife. Entering the tent after the cremation of his deceased wife, he sharpened his belt-knife, told his relatives to divide his property among them, and went out of doors. There he buried the knife in his breast, but missed the heart. He came into the house groaning, and then the people learned that he had attempted to stab himself. He recovered, and did not attempt suicide again; but his relatives afterwards railed him, saying that he had not seriously meant to kill himself. [162]

Though in following her husband the young woman becomes a member of his family, and subject to the authority of her father-in-law or other senior

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

member of the family, and although she becomes affiliated to the hearth and joins her husband in the cult of his family ancestors, nevertheless she continues to dwell under the protection of her blood-relatives. It is told in one myth[1] that Ene'mqut drives off with his sister, who is being tortured by her husband the Ringed-Seal, and his relatives; so, also nowadays, the young woman's relatives still have the right to take her away from her husband if he treats her cruelly. This proves that woman is not considered to be her husband's property. If a woman flees of her own accord to her relatives, they will not surrender her. Sometimes the husband comes to ask her to come back, promising better treatment. On the other hand, the husband may cast out his wife without any explanation, if he dislikes her for one reason or another; but by this act he forever breaks up the union which marriage had established between the two families. Henceforth he cannot court any relative of his disowned wife. No girl relative of the latter will be given to him in marriage.

A Koryak widower on the Taigonos Peninsula, soon after his marriage, sent his second wife back to her relatives. I asked him why he had turned her out. He replied that she had not attended him when he had been ill, and did not take care of his children by his first wife.

In this simple manner, Koryak divorce is performed. If there are children at the separation of the spouses, the girls remain with the mother, the boys with their father. Disputes concerning the children do occur, but they are settled without anybody's intervention.

Form of Property. — Despite the fact that the proprietary right to clothing, household effects, houses, and domestic animals, has already become strongly lodged in the tribal consciousness, we still meet remnants of communal ideas in this sphere. These chiefly concern articles of hunting and fishing. The principle of property in the produce of labor is not as yet completely applied to the food procured by the hunter and fisherman. People in need of food may lay claim, as we shall see in the next chapter, to the game obtained by the successful hunter or fisherman. The social union among separate families is based on this.

Among the Maritime Koryak, clothing and ornaments alone are considered personal property. Wooden guardians and other amulets, household appurtenances, the house, nets, and skin boats, are family property. I have already said[2] that the boat, being a "guardian" of the family, cannot belong to two different families. All these things pass on by inheritance from father to son, and, in their absence, to brothers. Daughters or sisters who have not been married into other families remain with their brothers or uncles. If one of the brothers sets up a separate house, he receives a part of the movable property, dishes and implements, and may continue to share with his brothers

[1] See Part I, p. 153. [2] Ibid., p. 41.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

861 to be photographed by my wife without the upper coat, but immediately refused the presents when her aunt shouted to her, "Don't take your coat off, your uncles will be angry." The girl was an orphan, and lived with her father's brothers.

868 From the age of ten to twelve, children begin to work, and boys join their father in his daily pursuits. They assist him in fishing, carrying wood for the hearth, and, among the Reindeer Koryak, tending the herd. Boys in their teens are made to go through a rigorous training to accustom them to withstand privations, cold, and fatigue. Lads usually wear the clothing cast off by the old people. Girls, beginning at the same age, help in household duties, skin-dressing, and the sewing of clothing.

593 When grown up, the attachment of children to their parents becomes weaker, and they become more independent, particularly so in the case of sons. Girls are more subjected than boys to the regime of the older members of the family. Young men at times engage in disputes with their fathers.

888 Treatment of Old People. — The power of the old people rests to a considerable degree on their strength and energy. If an old man can no longer perform the duties of a herdsman or direct the hunt, he ceases to be an authority. In the majority of cases, children treat their elders with respect and listen to their advice, even when they no longer manage the household. Thus I have seen an old man of from seventy to eighty years, who could no longer hold the reins in his hands, and was carried in a special sledge driven by his nephew. The latter would take him off and put him on the sledge, would tuck him up warmly, etc. In another case I saw the cruel treatment of an old father by his son, a wealthy reindeer-breeder. The father had had a small herd, and the son married a rich girl, who brought in a large herd. The two lived together. Once they were with the herd near the village Itkana, and the old man began to press his suit for the hand of a girl of the Maritime Koryak, who consented to marry him. The son objected to his father's marrying a Maritime woman; and when the father would not listen to his son, the latter separated from him.

582 In passing, I should like to mention here that marriages between the
356 Maritime and Reindeer Koryak are very rare.[1] This is a consequence of the
562 different forms of housekeeping carried on by the two groups of the Koryak. A daughter-in-law from a Maritime village will be a poor housekeeper in a Reindeer camp, and a son-in-law from the coast will be a poor herdsman. However, the pastoral life of the reindeer-breeders has not led to any changes concerning the customs relating to the bridegroom's service, marriage, levirate, etc.; but the new form of household economy has developed the principle of personal property more sharply, and has made woman more subject to man.

[1] Excepting the Reindeer Koryak who constitute one group with the inhabitants of the villages about Bering Sea (see p. 434).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

This latter circumstance is explained by the influence of the severe life which the herdsman leads. While the Maritime Koryak does almost nothing during the winter, living as he does in a comparatively warm house, the Reindeer Koryak must undergo all the hardships of winter while tending the herd.

But to return to the old man of whom I spoke before. Having entered into relationship with the Maritime Koryak, he remained near the coast, wandering about near their village. One year happened to be a poor one; no sea-animals were caught, the Maritime Koryak were starving during the winter, and the Reindeer Koryak killed his reindeer for food for the coast people. When all his reindeer were gone, he left his wife and returned to the Reindeer Koryak; but his son would not have him, advising him to go and live with the Maritime Koryak. The old man was finally taken in by a very poor kinsman, where I saw him in a pitiful condition. He was assisting the women in drying fish in the sun, and was dressed in tatters.

The Killing of Old People. — The custom of having the nearest of kin kill an old person at the latter's desire, which is still extant among the Chukchee,[1] is no longer met with among the Koryak; but in some localities the memory of this custom has been preserved. In the district-commander's report for 1886[2] to the Governor of the Maritime Province, mention is still made of such murders, though it does not clearly appear whether Chukchee or Koryak are referred to. For details of this custom I refer to Bogoras.[1] Generally speaking, however, the motives of the old people in desiring to be killed were decline of strength, disease, or simply dissatisfaction with life. The executors of the old people's desire were their sons or other nearest of kin. The killing was done either by strangling with a thong or by stabbing the heart with a spear.

Terms of Relationship. — From the list of terms of relationship given below, it appears that the system corresponds to the regulation of marriages, described before.

Consanguinity.

Ačiˈčə (Paren), aˈpa (Kamenskoye), apaˈpel (Reindeer Koryak)	Grandfather and great-uncle, paternal and maternal.
Yiˈłły-ačiˈčə, yiˈłłi-apa ("linked grandfather")	Great-grandfather.
Aˈma, aˈnˈa	Grandmother and great-aunt, paternal and maternal.
Yiˈłłi-aˈnˈa ("linked grandmother")	Great-grandmother.
ənniˈw (Chukchee, Endiˈw)	Uncle, paternal and maternal.
nčeiˈ	Aunt, paternal and maternal.
Aˈpa (Paren), taˈta (Kamenskoye), Eˈnpəč (Reindeer Koryak)[3]	Father.

[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 38.

[2] Gishiga Archive Records, File No. 404, 1886.

[3] Eˈnpəč is used also at Kamenskoye. Literally it means "oldest." Eˈnpəčə (plural) denotes "fathers" and "old men."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--295-296 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 101, 142, 342, 562

"Their features [those of the natives of Karaginski Island--Analyst] seem to resemble very closely those of the Chukchis of Indian Point, of whom we possess a photograph, and their stature was certainly far superior to that ordinarily ascribed to the Kamchadales. On the other hand, their habitations were distinctly Kamchadale, and bore no resemblance either to those of the tent-dwelling Chukchi or to the [296] conical skin-covered huts of the Koriaks as described by Langsdorf, yet their dress was that which is said to be distinctive of the latter people. If the story of their having crossed over to the island from the mainland be true, they may be a party of Chukchis, or Koriaks, who, having wandered down from the bare northern tundra to a region where trees exist and wood is procurable, have adopted the Kamchadale form of dwelling. The absence of women from the main village would support this supposition, for if we remember rightly, the Koriaks are said to keep their women apart."